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No. 2

THE 'PASSING' OF THE SEQUENCE OF TENSES

(Concluded from page 7)

The principle of the Sequence of Tenses is sometimes taken to include within its scope the subordinate indicatives¹⁸. So far, in this paper, discussion of this point has been avoided, intentionally. By those who take the Sequence rule as covering indicatives also, there is agreement that it holds with far less regularity there than with the subjunctives. A few examples will make this clear:

Cicero Cat. 2.12 Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos *eicerem*, qui haec *loquuntur*.

Ib. 2.13 Hic ego, vehemens ille consul, qui verbo civis in exilium *eicio*, *quaesivi* a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne.

Ib. 2.16 Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod *agit*, numquam antea *cogitasset*, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exulem vivere.

Examples of this type could be cited ad infinitum, whereas the supply of exceptions to Sequence in subordinate subjunctives is limited. In this very point we have a most telling argument for the reality of the Sequence principle in subordinate clauses requiring the subjunctive: generally speaking, subjunctive clauses are more closely attached to their principal clauses than are the indicative clauses, and this is the very reason why they are subjunctive rather than indicative. In other words, the fact that a clause requires the subjunctive is in itself an evidence that it is an integral part of the sentence, while the fact that a clause has the indicative is a testimony that it possesses a certain amount of freedom and independence. Granted that there are limitations to this: still it remains true on the whole. And it is quite in accord with what we might expect, that the tense use of indicatives in subordinate clauses is with rare exceptions the same as their use in independent clauses, and that attraction in tense, in other words, Sequence, rarely affects these subordinate indicatives. While the number of such attractions is of course appreciable, only three have come to the writer's notice in the preparation of this paper:

Caesar B. G. 2.35.3 Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones, quaeque civitates propinqua his locis *erant*, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis in Italiam *profectus est*.

Cicero Ad Fam. 5.2.9 Sed tamen fieri non moleste tui atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte *adiuvi*, ut

senati consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater *erat*, *sublevaretur*¹⁹.

Cicero Acad. Pr. 2.122 Corpora nostra non novimus; qui sint situs partium, quam vim quaeque pars habeat, ignoramus. Itaque medici ipsi, quorum *intererat* ea nosse, *aperuerunt*, ut viderentur.

The closer relation of subordinate subjunctives to their principal clauses manifestly goes hand in hand with the choice of their tenses, in contrast to the looser connection of the subordinate indicatives and the almost entire freedom in the use of their tenses. When, then, the rule of the Sequence of Tenses is formulated, the question to be asked is, does it embrace the phenomena actually occurring, which it is intended to formulate? This question is answered in the affirmative, though there remain a fair number of exceptions. It might be well to examine these exceptions, and see under what heads they fall. If they are logically and fairly explainable, then they do not vitiate the rule of Sequence. In this connection, the sixty examples cited by Professor Hale in his first article²⁰ will be listed, with an attempted explanation of the seemingly irregular tense usages, along with a certain amount of other material.

(A) Temporal expression may be divided into two spheres, a sphere of completed time and a sphere of incomplete time. These correspond to secondary and primary, respectively, in the terminology of tense. Ideas expressed in one time sphere are likely to have all their subordinate ideas expressed in the same time sphere: hence the scheme of Sequence of Tenses. The mediator between the two spheres is the perfect tense, which represents the past relatively to the present standpoint or standpoint of incomplete time, but is itself the normal standpoint of completed time; it follows that a perfect may depend upon a primary verb of the principal clause, but will itself require its subordinate verbs to be of the secondary tenses. Conversely, subordinate primary indicatives having free use of the tenses may introduce a sequence differing from that of the principal verb. Examples:

Cicero Cat. 3.21 Illud vero nonne ita praesens *est*, ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi *factum esse videatur*, ut, cum hodierno die mane per Forum meo iussu et coniurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae *ducerentur*, eo ipso tempore *signum statueretur*? (*videatur* depends upon *est*, *ducerentur* and *statueretur* upon *factum esse*).

¹⁸Cited by Professor Hale, A. J. P. 8.54.

²⁰A. J. P. 7. 446-465.

¹⁹So by A. T. Walker in the work cited in Note 4.

Cicero Cat. 3.22 Ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una *restat*, quae bellum populo Romano facere et posse et non nolle *videatur*, spem imperi ac rerum maximarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam *neglegerent* vestramque salutem suis opibus *anteponerent*, id non divinitus *esse factum putatis*, praesertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare *potuerint*? (*videatur* depends upon *restat*, *neglegerent* and *anteponerent* upon *esse factum*, *potuerint* upon *putatis*).

Cicero Pomp. 32 Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus *venirent*, *captos querar*, cum legati populi Romani *redempti sint*? (*venirent* depends upon *captos*, *redempti sint* upon *querar*).

Cicero Verr. 2.2. 13 (455)²¹ Quae cum omnia *facta sint* . . . (*facta sint* and *miserit* depend upon *scilote esse*, *laudarent* upon *miserit*).

(B) The perfect indicative is either primary or secondary, according to its meaning. When it denotes a present state resulting from a past action, it is primary; when it denotes the past action, it is secondary. The distinction is often largely psychological, as is so often the choice between constructions of closely similar meaning; and we must be careful not to draw undue inferences when there is any doubt of the meaning in which the perfect is to be taken. For instance, two of Professor Hale's examples contain perfect indicatives in the principal clause, which he takes to be secondary, whereas they are more easily intelligible as primary tenses:

Cicero Fam. 15.1.5 (456) Quod genus hoc militum *sit*, *iudicavit* . . . Bibulus . . . qui, cum . . . *permisissetis*, . . . *noluerit* (*iudicavit* = *index est*; hence *sit* and *noluerit*. *permisissetis* depends upon *noluerit*).

Nepos Them. 2.4 (457) Id quantae salutis *fuert* universae Graeciae, bello *cognitum est* Persico (*cognitum est* = 'is seen').

Conversely, the perfect may really be secondary though the nearest translation into English involves the use of the auxiliary 'have'; but this translation is no valid criterion for the meaning of the tense in the original Latin. In the following, the perfects are in reality pure pasts, not present perfects:

Cicero Ad Att. 3.10.1 (462) Acta quae *essent* . . . *cognovi* . . .

Cicero Ad Fam. 3.11.1 (462) Nihil enim *fuit* clarius; non quo . . . *putasset* . . .

There is a tendency to use the secondary sequence where the perfect distinctly denotes a present resultant state; of this the following is a conspicuous example:

Caesar B. G. 4.1.10 Atque in eam se consuetudinem *adduxerunt*, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pellis *haberent* quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et *lavarentur* in fluminibus. (The perfect here governs the imperfect subjunctives, though it denotes a present state, as appears also in the present *est*, coordinate in time with the other verbs).

In view of this, it cannot be very surprising if one and the same perfect indicative should be viewed in two lights in the same sentence. Three of Professor Hale's examples fall here; in all of them the perfect is viewed

first as a present perfect, then as a past, and the sequences accord with this shift in the point of view:

Cicero De Fin. 1.72 (463) *Explicavi* . . . *sententiam meam*, et eo . . . *consilio*, . . . *ut cognoscerem*.

Livy 21.13.2 (464) Cum ille *manserit* . . . ego, ne *ignoraretis* . . . *veni*.

Cicero Ad Att. 1.16.12 (464) Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt . . .

(C) Clauses of result contain a subjunctive which is the product of an extension of the potential subjunctive in result clauses, at the expense of the logical indicative denoting an actual fact. From this it comes that result clauses employ the tenses in their indicative values. The main application of this to the Sequence of Tenses is that the perfect subjunctive is here, like the perfect indicative, both a secondary tense and a primary tense. This removes from Professor Hale's list a large number of apparent exceptions to the rule of Sequence:

Nepos Arist. 1.2 (450) . . . *ut* . . . *sit appellatus*.

Cicero Brut. 302 (450) . . . *ut viderim*.

(In these two examples, despite Professor Hale, the perfects are pasts, not present perfects).

Cicero Div. in Caec. 1.1 (451) *ut defenderim*. (Compare A, above, for this sequence).

Nepos Them. 4.5 (451) *ut* . . . *potuerit*.

Cicero Ad Att. 1.16.5 (451) *ut* . . . *maluerint*.

Cicero Verr. 2.4.58 (454) *ubi* . . . *non* . . . *insti-tuerit*.

Cicero Ad Att. 1.16.5 (454) *quos commoverit*.

Cicero Ad Fam. 7.30.1 (455) *Fuit* enim mirifica vigilan-tia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non *viderit*. (Pro-fessor Hale interprets the clause as causal, but it really expresses result. Though one argue from the result to the cause, that does not turn the result into a cause).

Cicero Ad Att. 6.1.8 (455) Ille vero ante decemviros non *fuit*, quippe qui aedilis curulis *fuert* . . . (This clause of cause has the tense with the indicative tense value, presumably because several causal idioms em-ploy the indicative).

(D) When an idea expressed normally by a second-ary tense of the subjunctive is subordinated to a primary tense, it does not undergo change to the primary tenses, since that would hide the real meaning of the clause. Examples:

Terence Eun. 561 (463) *cuperem*.

Cicero De Fin. 2.49 (463) *esset*.

Cicero Pro Quinct. 76 (463) *esset*.

Cicero Ad Att. 4.5.1 (463) *essent*.

Compare III supra, with additional examples; yet here, in conditional clauses of comparison, we do find alteration of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive for the sake of formal sequence, as was there noted.

(E) A grammatical rule is, after all, only a formula-tion of the actually occurring phenomena of language. So far as the line of thought keeps within the one or the other of the two time-spheres, the Sequence of Tenses is a correct formulation of the phenomena. Now, if there be a shift from the one time sphere to the other, there must manifestly be a shift in the tenses employed to express the thought. This shifting is not so very uncommon, yet forms a very small percentage indeed of the total number of instances of subordination. Such, among Professor Hale's examples, are the follow-ing:

²¹Numerals thus indicated give the page of A. J. P. 7 where Professor Hale lists the examples. Of his examples only the first few words or the subjunctive in question will be cited.

Livy 2.1.2 (446) *numerentur*.
 Cicero Ad Fam. 14.7.1 (447) *videatur*.
 Cicero Acad. Pr. 2.3 (447).
 Nepos De Reg. 1 (453) *videantur*.
 Cicero Verr. 2.5.120 (453) *sciat*.
 Cicero De Or. 2.234 (454) *dicat*.
 Livy 28.45.4 (454) *feras*.
 Cicero Brut. 100 (454) *sit habitus*.
 Cicero Pro Quinct. 86 (456) *dicat*.
 Cicero Ad Fam. 2.8.1 (458) *audeat*.

In all these there is a shift from the secondary tenses to the primary, attending the shift from the sphere of completed time to that of uncompleted time. The change in the sequence is only the concomitant of the change in the thought; the regular rule can cover only the usual line of thought.

(F) The preceding is a mild kind of anacoluthon, and is not sharply distinguishable from the examples next to be listed. A very considerable number of the alleged exceptions to the principle of sequence stand in clauses which precede the main clause, where manifestly there is easy opportunity for anacolutha (compare above, pages 4, 5):

Cicero Tusc. 1.3 (455) Cum . . . *sit* . . . *accepimus*.
 Cicero De Lege Agr. 2.93 (455) Cum . . . *appel-*
lentur . . . *volebant*.

Cicero Ad Fam. 13.6.4 (456) Quae quantum in provincia valeant, *vellem expertus essem*, sed tamen *suspicio* . . . (here *suspicio* supports the primary tense in the subordinate clause, despite the intervening secondary tenses).

Caesar B. G. 6.35.2 (456) Hic quantum in bello fortuna *possit* et quantos *afferat* casus, cognosci *potuit*.

Cicero Pomp. 42 Quantum . . . *valeat*, . . . vos . . . saepe *cognovistis*.

Tacitus Ann. 1.76.6 (457) Cur *abstinuerit* . . . *trahebant*.

Cicero Pro Balbo 2 (457) Quae *fuert* . . . *videbatur*.
 Livy 6.40.17 (457) Si . . . *sint* . . . *possetisne* . . . ?

Terence Phor. 933-934 (464) Ut . . . *habet* . . . *consilium fuit*.

But the same occurs also when the subordinate clause follows, though the examples are perhaps not so numerous:

Pliny Epp. 6.6.3 (452) . . . *ventilabat*, vir . . . qui . . . *debeat* . . . (the subordinate clause modifies an appositive to the subject).

Cicero Pro Quinct. 89 (456) . . . bona *possessa* non *esse constitui*, quod . . . *possessio spectetur* . . . (a general truth).

Cicero Ad Att. 11.24.2 (463) . . . *velim*, si . . . *vellet* . . . (a mixed condition).

(G) Repraesentatio is a principle well known, involving the retention of primary tenses under conditions which seem to call for secondary tenses. Even when a statement begins with the primary, it may suddenly and without apparent reason shift to the secondary, which is the logical form. Compare Vergil Aen. 1.297-300

Haec ait et Maia genitum *demittit* ab alto,
 ut terrae atque novae *palear* Karthaginis arces
 hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
 finibus *arceret*.

Conversely, Caesar B. G. 1.14 shifts at § 5 from the secondary to the primary tenses. This may explain also a great number of primary subjunctives depending upon secondary tenses, not only in indirect discourse, but in indirect questions, in purpose clauses, in object clauses, and in causal clauses, wherever these clauses are formally or informally quoted as the thought or words of another. This device is especially valuable to the Roman writer when he finds that the Sequence would obscure the shade of thought, by confounding several constructions in an ambiguous imperfect and pluperfect.

Caesar B. G. 1.26.2 (455) Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum *pugnatum sit*, aversum hostem videre nemo *potuit* (here the regular pluperfect would be ambiguous with the temporal clause; the perfect subjunctive with *cum* could not express time, but only concession or cause).

Cicero Leg. 2.64 (458) *effecerint* (as Professor Hale says, a change to the pluperfect would too heavily disguise the generalizing perfect tense, which is therefore retained; but it is repraesentatio that permits the retention).

Tacitus Ann. 3.16.1 (457) *vulgaverit* (there is repraesentatio here to avoid an ambiguous pluperfect).

Caesar B. G. 1.40.7 *potuerint*; 1.40.12 *fuert*; 1.40.14 *sequatur* (the special meanings here conveyed by the use of repraesentatio are set forth in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.77-78).

Vergil Aen. 2.667 *cernam* (see The Classical Journal 9.36).

(H) The parenthetical purpose clause really depends upon an omitted verb in a primary tense, so that it is not a real violation of the Sequence of Tenses. Examples are very numerous; Professor Hale quotes:

Livy 1.28.5 (458) Ne . . . *teneat*.

(J) A present in the main clause may express a truth valid both for the present and for the past; in this instance, the subordinate clause will show the sequence suitable to the time idea in which the main verb is felt in its relation to the dependent clause. Such are the following:

Vergil. Aen. 6.533-534

An quae te fortuna *fatigat*,
 ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, *adires*?

(on this passage, see THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL 9.36).

Cicero Leg. 1.58 (459) *tribueretur*.

Cicero Verr. 2.4.11 (459) *anteponeret*.

Cicero Phil. 1.12 (460) *auderet*.

Cicero Pro Sulla 57 (460) *dimitteret*.

Cicero De Or. 1.196 (460) *anteponeret*.

Cicero Pro Rosc. Am. 92 (460) *impellerent*.

Cicero Pro Lig. 35 (461) *interessem*.

Cicero Verr. 2.2.191 (461) *solerent*.

Cicero Phil. 3.21 (462) *duceret*.

Livy 8.7.13 (464) *ferrent*.

In all these examples we find clauses depending upon the main verb in its past meaning, and therefore the clauses contain secondary tenses.

Of Professor Hale's sixty examples there now remain three. Two of these display parataxis rather than hypotaxis:

Terence Phor. 380-381 (461)

Quem amicum tuum *ais fuisse istum*,
explana mihi, et qui cognatum me sibi esse diceret
 (the indicative *ais* shows that in the first clause the subordination is hardly felt; and *diceret* throws the responsibility on the other person, that is, on the subject of *ais. explana mihi* is parenthetical).

Cicero In Vat. 5 (462) *Sed quaero a te, cur C. Cornelium non defenderem?* (the supposition of hypotaxis here weakens the rhetorical effect).

The remaining example is Cicero Ad. Att. 4.16.1 (461) In intimis *est* meis, cum antea *notus non fuisset*, where the pluperfect is used to show time relative to a preceding verb in a secondary tense, *reddidit*.

Let it be granted that there are exceptions both to the principle of Sequence of Tenses and to the principle of Non-Sequence, or at least that there are apparent exceptions. It remains to see under which theory the exceptions are interpretable without the breakdown of the rule. Professor Hale's view is thus summed up:

It needs no great boldness to say, as I now do without reserve, that the tenses of the Latin subjunctive, alike in dependent and in independent sentences, tell their own temporal story—that no such thing as is meant by the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses exists²².

And yet, as has been noted at the appropriate places²³, Professor Hale does admit a relativity of the time which dependent clauses express, in general statements and in clauses subordinate to present contrary-to-fact conditions, which throws them into the secondary tenses. Is this not the virtual abandonment of his case? Again, in regard to parenthetical clauses of purpose, he says:

It will not do to answer that such subjunctives depend upon omitted verbs. The question is, do the subjunctives of themselves convey to us temporal ideas? To concede that they tell us that a verb is omitted, and that they tell us, moreover, just what kind of a tense that verb would be in, if expressed, is to concede to them very great temporal significance²⁴.

And yet, though Professor Hale seems to be unaware of it, in everything which he here says he is admitting that the subjunctive expresses a temporal meaning relative to that of the verb on which it depends, whether that verb be expressed or implied; were it to tell its own temporal story, quite aloof from the main verb, how might it inform us of the nature of that main verb?

Again, the exceptions to Professor Hale's theory are more serious than the exceptions to the theory of Sequence. The latter may be explained historically as follows: as coordination gave way to subordination, independence of temporal meaning in verbs had to yield to relativity of meaning. The majority of the idioms were along the lines which we now call Sequence; other

idioms, for the most part, fell into line, only a few traces of an earlier condition persisting into historical Latin. Professor Hale's theory represents an earlier stage of Latin thought, out of which the language has in great part progressed even in the time of Plautus and Terence; in historical times, the principle of Sequence, that is, of relativity of time in subordinate subjunctives, is the controlling element. When special circumstances are present, special combinations of tenses must be used, which are more easily interpretable, perhaps, as a remnant of the earlier paratactic values of the tenses, than in any other way; yet, as a general principle, nothing will explain the phenomena of Latin so well as the theory of Sequence of Tenses.

But how is it with tense combinations which defy the interpretation of absolute time? Professor Hale has to admit it in several kinds of clauses and to interpret them by what he prefers to call *Harmony* rather than *Sequence*. But how might he dispose of the clauses listed above under IV (pages 6-7), clauses where purpose and other ideas still future are expressed by secondary tenses despite the fact that they are thought of as still future, especially the Horatian *orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras*? The believer in the Sequence Theory may admit survivals of a previous state of affairs without vitiating his main thesis; but the upholder of the theory of the temporal independence of subordinate subjunctives cannot, without yielding his main position, admit the presence of subjunctives manifestly dependent in time upon other verbs. And this, as the writer sees it, is what Professor Hale has been obliged to do.

Finally, we come to the pedagogical aspect of the problem. It is unnecessary to repeat here the manner of teaching the selection of the subjunctive tenses in dependent clauses, if we believe in the principle of Sequence. Professor Hale has outlined his method of teaching their management under his theory, in A. J. P. 8.70 ff.; see also the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, 60-62. It may be left to any intelligent teacher which method is more easily operable, and which will produce the better results. And when Professor Hale says that a student trained according to the Sequence of Tenses, on receiving a certain English sentence

Will not dare to write *qualis esset illo tempore civitas, et antea qualis fuisset, videamus in ipsa sententia Catonis*, as a student who knew nothing about a Sequence of Tenses would, and as St. Augustine, who also had the advantage of being in ignorance of the rule, did, in De Civ. Dei, 5.12²⁵,

we may retort with the query whether a student of to-day *not* trained in the Sequence of Tenses would dare to write *Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras*, as Horace did, Sermon. 2. 6.35.

Now all this becomes an immediately practical question when the Joint Committee on Grammatical

²²A. J. P. 8.59. The italics are Professor Hale's; yet he modifies this somewhat. A. J. P. 9.160.

²³See I fin. and II fin., supra, page 5.

²⁴A. J. P. 7.459.

²⁵A. J. P. 8.71 f. Yet *fuerit* would have done just as well as *esset*; in either instance, *fuisset* had to be used to express time preceding the *esset* (or *fuerit*).

Nomenclature recommends that we should teach along the lines advocated by Professor Hale. In the first place, the Committee, as the writer understands it, was appointed to recommend a uniform grammatical terminology, not to dictate the method of teaching; secondly, it has done away with a term, Sequence of Tenses, which was in universal use, to introduce a new one, Harmony of Tenses, for which, under its method of teaching the subject, there was little or no necessity. Why could it not have admitted two attitudes toward the interpretation of the tenses, and have recommended the term which is already in use, to represent the idea which must have a name, if we recognize, as most of us do, that there is a Sequence of Tenses? The same iconoclastic attitude of the Committee is evident on certain other topics: but it would be outside the province of this paper to discuss them. And yet the term Sequence of Tenses expresses a concept useful in connection with the grammar of each and every language studied in the Schools of this country. In Greek, to be sure, it is a Sequence of Moods; in the various Modern Languages, it is partly a Sequence of Tenses, but partly also a matter of choice of auxiliary verbs. We all of us feel the proper use of *may* and *might*, of *can* and *could*, and the like, as a matter of sequence, not as a matter of selection of the form with reference to its absolute value. So it is with the use of the subjunctive tenses in the modern Romance Languages, and so it is in German, though *Repraesentatio* is tending in both of them to replace the past subjunctive by the present. Still there runs through all these languages a common psychological principle, which finds formulation most naturally under the term Sequence: Sequence of Moods in Greek, of Tenses in Latin and the Modern Romance Languages, of Tenses, for the most part, in German, and of Auxiliaries, mainly, in English—though with the auxiliaries of German and English the tense distinction lies underneath. The term Harmony will hardly serve as a substitute; Harmony of Moods seems less fitting, surely, than Sequence of Moods, for Greek.

The writer therefore lodges a protest against the shelving of the principle of the Sequence of Tenses, and hopes that the threatened passing of the rule from our teaching will be vigorously opposed by all who have a courageous conviction that a dependent clause, if integrally dependent, really does depend upon that on which it is dependent and that dependent subjunctives in Latin do under all normal circumstances present actions in their temporal relations to the verbs on which they depend.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

ROLAND G. KENT.

REVIEWS

Elements of Latin. By Benjamin W. Mitchell. New York and Philadelphia: Hinds, Noble, and Eldredge (1912). Pp. 303. \$1.00.

A recent reviewer remarked that he who would present a new freshman rhetoric deserved to be hanged.

Without taking so Draconian a position, we doubtless all feel that a new beginners' Latin book should have distinctive excellences to justify its entry into a field already so well occupied. The distinctive feature claimed for this book by its author is its adaptation to the needs of the Schools which admit pupils semi-annually. It consists of "two fairly complete and independent portions", each of which is intended to furnish a semester's work. The first part, accordingly, consists of forty-six lessons devoted to "the forms of inflection and a few elementary principles of the simple sentence". The second part consists of a systematic presentation of syntax and a somewhat simplified version of Caesar's account of the Helvetian War.

Certain characteristics of the treatment result from this thorough-going separation of forms from syntax. If all the forms are to be introduced during the first semester, the introduction of forms must be more rapid than in most recent beginners' books; and in many cases the forms must be learned long before much use of them is made. We should note, however, that many constructions are introduced practically in the sentences of the first part, although the explanation is reserved for the second part. In Lesson VI, for example, the ablatives of instrument and of accompaniment are thus smuggled in. In the following lessons we find the similar introduction of the ablatives of separation, manner, specification, attendant circumstance, and agent. The ablative of comparison, however, does not appear in connection with the comparison of adjectives. In Lesson XL the dative of agent is merely translated in a note. All this seems to be a rather radical use of the inductive method in a book in most respects severely deductive.

Dr. Mitchell has given us what is frankly an introduction to Caesar's Commentaries. The author apparently has little sympathy with those who would make the first year of Latin work an introduction to varied aspects of ancient life, and still less with those who show the pupil that the Latin is a medium capable of expressing anything connected with the life of the present. All the exercises seem to be strictly Caesarean in subject-matter as well as in diction and idiom; they are, in fact, *disiecta membra Caesaris*, idiomatic fragments torn from their context, involving along with the particular point to be illustrated whatever else Caesar happened to introduce. Such sentences, if we may judge from early experiences with Professor White's original Greek Lessons, may well be more difficult than the continuous text. The reading lessons are also exclusively Caesarean with but a moderate amount of simplification and annotation.

Pedagogically this book is conservative. The method is predominantly deductive. Illustrative sentences are relatively few. Masses of related forms or principles are introduced without much regard to what can be immediately used and assimilated. In Lesson XXIX, for example, we find introduced for the first time nearly the entire active force of the first

conjugation: namely, the subjunctive, the imperative, the infinitives, the participles, the gerund and the supine. The next lesson gives *sum* entire, and the next the entire passive of *amo*.

We find in Dr. Mitchell's book grammatical as well as pedagogical conservatism. There seems to be little thought of preparing the way for the comparative or historical study of the language. Not even the three historically and essentially distinct forces of the ablative are recognized. The subjunctive is presented as "essentially a subordinate mood". We hear of the "supine stem" and the "substantive clause of purpose". The term "volitive" is employed, but it is coupled with "optative" as "expressing wish". On the other hand the author recognizes the recent and useful category of the "ablative of attendant circumstance", and states clearly the essential distinction between the circumstantial and the purely temporal *cum*-clause.

I notice, finally, certain pedagogical felicities and infelicities. The hand of the apt and experienced teacher is frequently present. Fresh, luminous and helpful explanations are given at many points where the pupil is likely to go astray; examples are the treatment of the various types of third declension stems, the various classes of pronouns, "it" as a subject, the subjunctive and the objective genitive, the ablative absolute, the gerundive, conditions, and indirect discourse. The appendix contains convenient summaries and tables of grammatical facts. The pictorial illustrations include reproductions of several of Professor Swain's photographs of scenes connected with the Helvetian war, besides numerous representations of ancient objects. These latter illustrations are not limited to Caesarean and military subjects, but form the one feature of the book connecting it with the broader life of antiquity. Now and then one meets details the felicity of which is not so obvious. We are told, for example, that the long and short vowels differ "only in duration of time", but *entail* and *redeem* are given as illustrating the long and the short sounds of *e* and *i* respectively—this, however, is a common inconsistency in Latin text-books. In the definition of the finite forms of the verb as "those which are limited by requirements of time, person, and number", is not the inclusion of "time" misleading? It is an innovation to extend the term "appositives" to include predicate nouns. Is it helpful? From § 412 one would get the impression that the substantive *quod*-clause is exclusively appositional in use, this feature being emphasized by the unfamiliar term "Appositive Clauses of Explanation". In the vocabulary of Lesson XXXI, *ab* lacks the fundamental meaning *from*. Upon the introduction of the imperfect tense in Lesson XI the author admirably states the force of that tense, but the perfect is not introduced until Lesson XXVIII. In the meantime the pupil—from certain sentences we almost suspect that this is true of the author as well—is tempted to forget that the imperfect does not properly function as an aorist. Unfortunately this feature seems to be shared by nearly all beginners' books.

The book as a whole impresses one as the careful work of a conservative and at the same time independent classical teacher. It provides in two relatively independent parts an introduction to Caesar, which, while somewhat Spartan in its demands on the pupil, ought to be effective—for the survivors.

DELAND, FLA.

W. S. GORDIS.

The Composition of the Iliad. An Essay on a Numerical Law in its Structure. By Austin Smyth. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1914). Pp. 233. \$1.75.

This book seeks to bring a new proof for the hypothesis that the Iliad is the work of but one individual, in the sense in which we might use a similar phrase about the poem of a modern author. The necessity of the hypothesis is the corollary drawn (pages 188 ff.) from the main thesis "that the Iliad of Homer at one time consisted of 13,500 lines, neither more nor less, divided into 45 sections of 300 verses each, with major divisions after the 15th and 30th of these"; the remaining 2193 verses being more recent additions which ought to be removed.

At the outset I find myself in agreement with the author upon one important point; if such a law exists it should be possible to find some reason for its existence. Such a reason Mr. Smyth finds in the law being an artificial aid to the memory of man at a time when the use of writing was but little known. I, however, cannot see that the law could be of real service for that purpose, but consider myself exempt from further discussion of the question, because I regard it as proved that no poem of 13,500 lines could be composed without the aid of writing (for the evidence, cf. Meier, *Werden und Leben des Volksepos*, p. 27 and note 102). The law, therefore, if it is to be accepted at all, must stand as something for which the *raison d'être* is as yet unknown.

In spite of this uncertainty, the law deserves to be discussed on its own merits. The first point to be made is that Mr. Smyth's solution must stand or fall with the Oxford text. In discussing Iliad 14. 269 he writes (85 f.) as follows:

And here the reader will with justice wish to know whether there are not in our previous cantos some more of these isolated verses, which rest upon little manuscript authority, and which when thrown out would reduce our number below the 300. I will answer in this way. Hitherto our rejection of this species of verse has included, with one exception <5.808>, all those that are bracketed in the Oxford text of the late Provost of Oriel, a man of the most steady judgment, and of course in the front rank of Homeric scholars; so that if there are any other verses which can fairly be impugned on the ground of insufficient manuscript authority (but I do not believe that there are), it can always be replied that it was not so clear to this excellent critic that they ought to be excised.

Without criticising such an attitude in general, it is sufficient to say that this reply allows neither for an increase of manuscript evidence, nor for a possible

better appreciation of the bearings of the evidence given by the manuscripts already known.

The latter of these alternatives was brought about while Mr. Smyth's book was in press. In an article published in *The American Journal of Philology* 35. 125-148 I showed that the cumulative evidence of the papyri which contain the vulgate text enables us to designate definitely certain lines as later intruders. Some of these are included in Mr. Smyth's 13,500 lines and their rejection reduces the number below the minimum permitted by his law. To take a single example: Canto VII runs from 4.86-402 (I need not question the location of the pauses, which is advocated with great ingenuity), 317 lines, reduced to 300 by the excision of 382-398, the story of Tydeus's adventure at Thebes. But the manuscript evidence, viewed in the light of my article, renders it absolutely necessary to regard 4. 196-197 and most probably 369 as additions made to the vulgate after the middle of the second century before our era. Mr. Smyth's seventh Canto is thus reduced to 297 (298) verses; and this is fatal to the particular reconstruction of a poem of 13,500 lines which he proposes.

However, it would doubtless be possible for Mr. Smyth to frame a second reconstruction which should avoid these difficulties. It in turn would be upset by the detection of other intruding lines in the vulgate—a subject on which I hope to publish soon another article. A third reconstruction would still be equally possible, and so on until we should finally get to one consistent with the archetype of our manuscripts. Then would arise the problem of the Ptolemaic papyri—formidable, indeed, but one which I believe might also yield to a bold application of the law.

This leaves us with a dilemma. If Mr. Smyth's application of his law cannot be adapted to fit our changing knowledge of the Homeric text, it breaks down; if it can be so adapted, it refutes itself. For, it then shows merely a fact to which Mr. Smyth himself is quite alive (186) "that the handling of figures is often a delusive exercise, and that with the loose and easy syntax of the *Iliad* one could produce almost any number that one pleases by throwing out verses here and there".

I find it necessary, therefore, to dissent from the main thesis of the book. It should, however, be noted that in it Mr. Smyth has laid his hand upon one of the pressing problems of Homeric studies—the need of getting back to the original articulations of the poem. It is a problem which has been worked at by Drerup and by Bethe, but has not yet been brought to a satisfactory solution. Would that all Unitarians could see its importance and its bearings!

The whole book is so involved in its main thesis that there remains little more to say. As a critic Mr. Smyth stands upon the basis of the interpolation hypothesis of the Alexandrians which is the traditional point of view for Unitarism. I do not believe that such an hypothesis is able to account for all the data of

the problem. It is, however, better than the reactionary movement among the Unitarians which believes it can 'defend' out text exactly as it happens to be printed; not to speak of the apostolic zeal that can without discriminating laud such divergent works as Roemer's *Aristarchs Athetesen* and Drerup's *Das fünfte Buch* in the same breath.

In judging the book it is well to remember that the Homeric question is for Mr. Smyth evidently an avocation. One will then not be too hard upon the admission (179) of a historical present, nor be inclined to expect much bibliographical information. Wolf and the Teubner text are the only works printed outside of England of which I have noticed citations in Mr. Smyth's book. We may be content to find a discussion of a number of passages by a man of taste and good judgment, biased at times by a preconceived theory, but interesting just because it springs from fresh direct contact with the text.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

G. M. BOLLING.

The Gothic History of Jordanes, in English Version, with an Introduction and a Commentary. By Charles Christopher Mierow. Princeton University Press (1915). 188 pp. \$2.00.

Jordanes—or Jornandes, as we used to call him and as the French do still—compiled a history of the Goths, about 550 A. D. Its value is due almost wholly to the disappearance of his chief source, the similar history, written a generation earlier, by Cassiodorus, Theodoric's secretary. Like Paul the Deacon, Salvian, Victor of Vita, and all the other chroniclers of previous Germanic expansions, it has a peculiar timeliness just now; and it has a number of good stories, like Attila's resolve to continue his discouraging siege of Aquileia because he noticed that the storks were carrying their nestlings out of the city, in prophetic anticipation of an earlier Louvain (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.208).

Jordanes's *Getica* has been translated into German, French (add to Dr. Mierow's list the Nisard [Didot] version of 1869, by Fournier de Moujan), and Swedish; but not till 1908 was it available in English, in Dr. Mierow's Princeton thesis, the outcome of a suggestion of Dean West. This translation Dr. Mierow now reprints in a revised form, with an extended Introduction, drawn largely from Mommsen, and with nearly 50 pages of Commentary, largely historical and topographical. This is interesting and enlightening, but marred by misprints, particularly in the Greek.

It is a pity that no one has worked over the text of Jordanes since Wilhelm Meyer's epoch-making rediscovery of the accentual cursus. Jordanes wrote in this rhythm, which is characterized by either two or four unaccented syllables between the last two accents of a clausula. A good example is in § 151, where the whole second sentence is rhythmical: *Trino si quidem urbs ipsa vocabulo gloriatur, trigeminæque positione exultat, id est prima Ravenna, ultima Clāssis, media Caesaræa, inter urbem et mare, plena mollitiæ, harenæque minuta,*

vegetationibus apta. Mommsen (who edited Jordanes back in 1882) has frequently chosen the non-rhythmical clausula and relegated the correct cadence to the critical apparatus. It therefore follows that a reëditing of Jordanes in the light of Meyer's Law is imperative, and that Meyer's careful training in this branch of rhetoric must be considered to weaken Mommsen's theory that the mistakes in Latin in the MSS are due to the author and not to the copyists. I hope soon to recur to this topic elsewhere; I mention it here simply to point out that the text used by Dr. Mierow is far from definitive. That does not, however, invalidate the unique value of his translation, which was generally recognized on its first appearance. He has in several cases notably improved the language or the correctness of his earlier version; and it can now be heartily recommended to every student of Germanic history and medieval literature.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF PITTSBURGH AND VICINITY

The fifth meeting of the Classical Association of Pittsburgh and vicinity for the year 1914-1915 was held at the Peabody High School on April 10, Miss Wilma F. Schmitz, of the South High School, made some keen observations on the teaching of Latin in her paper on The Line of Least Resistance. Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Pittsburgh, in a paper entitled Hermes News Service, showed how the newspaper could be utilized in the teaching of the Classics. Professor C. F. Ross of Allegheny College gave an interesting illustrated lecture on the Roman toga. For the sixth meeting the association met at the Miles Theatre, on May 15, as the guests of the George Kleine Co., to see a special performance of Julius Caesar in motion pictures. There was a large attendance, many teachers bringing some of their students.

The officers for 1915-16 are: Mr. C. R. Fisher, Allegheny High School, President; Miss Deborah E. Lovejoy, Pennsylvania College for Women, Vice-President; Dr. E. T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES IN ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

On May 15 the Greek Club of the University of Mississippi presented the Antigone of Sophocles, in Plumptre's translation. Of the performance Professor A. L. Bondurant wrote as follows:

The setting was severely simple in keeping with the classic tradition. The stage was arranged with curtains on either side, with curtains taking the place of the rear wall. . . . The costumes were carefully studied, and each actor was appropriately garbed.

There was no curtain, and with the exception of brief musical interludes the action was continuous. . . . The performance was a most creditable one in all respects. . . . So far as the writer knows this is the first performance of a Greek play in the State.

THE CAPTIVI IN LATIN AT MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

On April 20 the Captives of Plautus was given in Latin at Mount Holyoke College. The cast was chosen from students who had been reading the play in course, chiefly Sophomores. The result was excellent. The performers entered heartily into the story and brought out the salient points. The two prominent characters, Hegio and Ergasilus, were especially well done. The prologue was spoken slowly and distinctly: so that many of the audience could understand the Latin fairly well. In the rest of the play much use was made of gesture and pantomime. At no time did the audience seem in any way uninterested.

The costuming, which was thoroughly satisfactory, was largely of home production, supplemented by the rental of some necessary articles from a costumer. The back scene, representing the traditional houses with doors, was painted by one of the art students of the College. The side scenes were sketches of Italian scenery. The cost of the production, about forty dollars, was met by a small admission fee, which also gave a balance for departmental use for slides and photographs.

The members of the Department feel that the value of the work has been considerable, not only to those taking part, but also to the other students who have read the play, and finally to all Latin students who were in the audience.

HELEN M. SEARLES.

THE NEW YORK LATIN CLUB

The first meeting of the New York Latin Club for 1915-1916 will be held on Saturday, November 6, at Hunter College, Lexington Avenue, 68th to 69th Streets, New York City. An informal reception at 11.30 will be followed by luncheon, to be served promptly at noon. After luncheon, Professor Walter Dennison will deliver an illustrated lecture on The Military Operations of Julius Caesar in France and Belgium. It is hoped that every classical teacher in New York City and its vicinity who has not yet become identified with this Club will do so this year. For further information about the Club, the dates of the later luncheons, prices, etc., application may be made to the Treasurer, Dr. William F. Tibbetts, of Curtis High School, New Brighton, Staten Island.

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